# Transcript of the President's News Conference

WASHINGTON, March 2— Following is a transcript of President Johnson's news con-ference as issued by the White House today:

### OPENING STATEMENT

I have a brief announcement to make. I have received a reply from Chairman [Aleksei N.] Kosygin to my letter of January 27. This reply confirmed the willingness of the Soviet Government to discuss means of limiting the arms race in offensive and defensive nuclear missiles. missiles

This exchange of views is expected to lead to further discussions of this subject in Moscow and with our allies. Moscow and with our allies. It is my hope that a means can be found to achieve constructive results.

structive results.

I will be glad to take any questions in the time alloted to me.

## QUESTIONS

# 1. Missile Systems

Q. This applies, did I understand correctly, to offensive weapons as well as the establishment of an antimissile system?

A. Offensive and defensive.
Q. Mr. President, on what level will these discussions be?
A. They will be in Moscow with Ambassador [Liewelleyn E.] Thompson. Then we will see how they progress.
Q. Mr. President, will these Moscow discussions be concurrent with the ones going on in the 18-nation disarmament conference going on in Geneva?

Geneva?

A. Not necessarily. They are not timed in connection with any other conferences.

As you know, I sent Chairman Kosygin a letter and asked him to consider the desirability of an exchange of views in this regard. He has responded. We would assume that the discussions would be initiated with Ambassador Thompson. I wouldn't go further than that at this time.

9 US Soviet Polytime

# 2. U.S.-Soviet Relations

Q. Mr. President, do you an interconnection bee. Mr. President, do you see an interconnection between Senate passage of the consular treaty, the space treaty, East-West trade, and a nonproliferation treaty? Do you see these as kind of one movement?

you see these as kind of one movement?

A. I think they are all very desirable moves in the national interest of the United States.

When I became President, one of the first steps I took in the first few wecks I was President was to communicate with Chairman Khrushchev and suggest that we explore together certain agreements that would be beneficial to both nations in promoting peace in the world. Exchanges between our two countries resulted in: the signing of the civil air agreement; the signing of the new consular agreement, which devottly hope will be ratified by the Senate, and about which I have had innumerable conversations with the leadens of this Congress of both parties; the progress that has been made in the



Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin

nonproliferation agreement although we have not come to a complete meeting of the minds with all of the indi-viduals involved, we have made progress; the space agreement, which we hope the Senate will act favorably upon; the East-West trade which is being considered.

We have recommended all of those. We hope that the Congress will confirm our judgment that they are in the best interests of the United States. They were not made as a package move. They were made as individual recommendations.

ommendations.
But I do think that what your question implies is: Does that reflect a policy on the part of this Government of attempting to find areas of agreement with the Soviet Union?

The answer is yet Westington.

The answer is, yes. We are The answer is, yes. We are exploring; with every means at our command, every possible way of relieving tensions in the world and promoting peace in the world.

# HOUSE ACTION ON POWELL

Q. Mr. President, do you have any reaction to the House action denying Mr. Adam Clayton Powell a seat?
A. No. I would have no comment on that matter, otherwise when you have been

President doesn't engage in internal affairs of the House or the Senate.

#### Objectives

Q. Mr. President, Sir, the Prime Minister of North Vietnam is quoted in a dispatch from Hanoi this mornin gas saying there is no present possibility of talks and the N.L.F. [National Liberation Front] representative in Hanoi is quoted in the same dispatch as saying now there is one way open to us to is one way open to us to struggle until final victory.

In the light of these comments, could you comment on our objectives at this point?

A. We are in Vietnam because of the violation of two solemn international agree-

ments.

In 1954 Hanoi agreed that North Vietnam should not be

North Vietnam should not be used for the resumption of hostilities or to further an aggressive policy.

In 1962 Hanoi agreed to withdraw all of its military forces from Laos, to refrain from reintroducing agents. from reintroducing such forces, and not to use the ter-ritory of Laos to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries

If I had the time, I would go in some detail into the recommendations that General Maxwell Taylor made to Presi

recommendations that General Maxwell Taylor made to President Kennedy in his report of Nov. 3, 1961, after Hanoi had violated the Geneva declaration of 1964, but before the Geneva declaration of 1962 was finally completed.

Referring to that report, General taylor said, among other things, that his recommendation that he made at that time was not "the final word." Then he went on to add that it might be necessary to attack the sources of supply at their source if they continued to insist on aggression.

were willing clear that we were willing to have a complete ceasefire at any time they were willing to cease attack and cease ag-

to cease attack and cease aggression.

They have made it abundantly clear that they are not willing to do that, not-withstanding the "reports" that you refer to from time to time.

It is very clear to us that if they are going to bomb Pleiku as they did and kill our men in the middle of the night. If in the middle of the night. If they are going to bomb Danang as they did just a few days ago, if they are going to lob their mortar shells into the backs of our soldiers as they did last night, you must, if you are at all fair to those men who are defending you there, permit them to respond. They will respond, they are responding, and they will continue to respond. I believe, successfully.

I think that the American people should know that this

people should know that this is a question between their President, their country, their troops, and Mr. Ho Chi Minh

As far as this Government is concerned, we have, from the very beginning, tried to keep our hand out and our guard up. We have tried to extend the hand of peace and say that we are willing to cease fire, for unconditional discussions, for four points, or 14 points, or any points, but if they were unwilling to do that and they insisted on carrying on their offensive, our men had to be in a position to respond.

Missile Negotiations

### Missile Negotiations

Q. Mr. President, may I go Q. Mr. President, may I go back to your statement on the Soviet willingness to limit the arms race? Is it your understanding from Chairman Kosygin's letter that they will now cease the construction of antiballistic missile systems while we discuss the problem?

A. My understanding of his letter is reflected in seven simple sentences. There will he a transcribt available to

simple sentences. There will he a transcript available to you. I wouldn't go beyond that. I don't think there is any implication that is not made clear.

Q. If you have told us this, I missed it: Can you give us some idea as to when the conversations are going to

A. We don't have a date on that. It will be at a mutually satisfactory time. We will be very glad for them to start at the earliest possible date.

at the earnest possible date.
Q. Mr. President, can you give us the date on the Kosygin letter?
A. My letter was January 27, and I don't have the date of his at the moment.

# 6. Warren Commission Report

Q. Mr. President, you appointed the members of the Warren Commission, Sir. I believe at a news conference

petieve at a news conference recently you said you saw no reason from stories that had been written to doubt the conclusions of the commission. The District Attorney in New Orleans is attracting worldwide attention with statements now. First of all, he challenges the Warren Com-mission's conclusions and ne challenges the Warren Commission's conclusions and he does not want to cooperate, it appears, with the Federal Government in a case that involves a matter of very severe national importance. How do you feel about this?

A. I do not have any information from New Orleans, other than what I have seen in the newspapers. I would not

the newspapers. I would not have any comment to make with the limited information I have seen in the newspapers at this time. I know of no reason to change anything that I have said before.

#### 7. Missiles

Q. Mr. President, Chairman Kosygin's letter refers to of-fensive and defensive nuclear missiles. Did your letter go so far or was your proposal limited to defensive?

limited to defensive?

A. My letter was prompted by the desire to raise the question of defensive weapons. We had previously raised the question of offensive weapons. The Chairman's reply to us is agreeable to us. We are very glad to have the opportunity to discuss both, as we had indicated previously, although not in the same channels. channels.

channels.

Q. Mr. President, was your January 27 letter prompted primarily by the Soviet antimissile system being deployed around Moscow, the one you mentioned recently?

A. The January 27 letter was prompted by two primary reasons. First, the desire to have a discussion involving the limitation of arms, whenever possible, that volving the limitation of arms, whenever possible, that might lead to an agreement. We are constantly pursuing any courses that might lead to an agreement that would be in the interest of the people of the world.

Second, before reaching a final decision on the course this Government would follow in connection with a defensive

this Government would follow in connection with a defensive system, I think we would like to explore an agreement.

In any event, we would like to have some discussions and be sure we couldn't get an agreement before we made a very basic decision that was far-reaching, comprehensive, and one on which we could not turn back.

and one on which we could not turn back.

Q. Mr. President, during the discussion, what will be the status of the research and development on the antiballistic missile? Will it continue on he suspended?

Istic missie? Will it continue or be suspended?

A. I assume both countries will continue with whatever efforts they think desirable. I would see no reason for us to suspend work that we have under way.

to suspend work that we nave under way.
Q. Mr. President, I didn't understand what you said earlier, referring to six sentences about the transcript. Could we have the texts of the exchange of the two leaders?

leaders?

A. I think at this time I will limit you to my statement on the subject. That will be in the transcript. I will read it again, if you have time and if I have the time. If not, it will be in the transcript.

Q. Sir, can you tell us exactly when you received the letter? A. I don't have that.

Q. Not when it was dated, when you received it? A. I don't have the date of the letter or the time it was received.

ceived.
Q. Mr. President, is there any possibility of your and Mr. Kosygin meeting in the near future?
A. I see nothing in this that would indicate that now.
Thank you, Mr. President.

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ter for the members of the House that is reserved to them by the Constitution. The Everyone can take whatever side of the matter that he wants to.

# Foreign Affairs: Again the Mighty Atom

#### By C. L. SULZBERGER

GENEVA—Whether or not Washington and Moscow can convince their friends to sign a nuclear limitation treaty, negotiations seeking this goal mark dramatic switches in both American and Soviet policy. Each superpower is patently prepared to scrap past concepts.

This reversed approach has set off furious anti-Russian trades in Clifina while igniting suspicion of America in the West. German, Italian and Japanese pique with us causes disgruntled Americans to murmur: "Is the Axis trying to emerge again?" Such reactions scarcely soothe our worried partners.

## Broad Significance

The treaty text accepted by Washington to insure against further spread of nuclear weapons has massive implications. We are back to the Baruch plan which sought to limit atomic arms when only the U.S.A. possessed them and when even Bertrand Russell urged us to warn transgressors we could blow them off the map. But today there are five atomic military powers. If this treaty isn't signed there will soon be eight, then ten.

In a final effort to limit the nuclear club, we formally scrap

our proposed NATO multilateral nuclear force (M.L.F.) while also making certain that any European nuclear force remains only a dream. Moreover, we guarantee that no matter what Russia and America decide about anti-missile defenses, Europe will be excluded from such projects. Defense against incoming missiles relies upon nuclear warheads which would be banned from non-possessors.

M.L.F., of course, never stood a chance despite the ardor of its advocates, and was long since dead if not buried. Nor does the proposed treaty technically ban a European nuclear force because a confederated Europe with one defense authority might theoretically inherit existing French or British stockpiles, But France has no disposition to pool atomic weapons and opposes integrated Europe. The idea is a non-starter.

## The A.B.M. Race

Finally, West Europe could never enter an anti-ballistic missile (A.B.M.) race because it couldn't finance it. The huge cost of such systems makes both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. consider whether an A.B.M. network is worth while. The treaty would ban transferral of nuclear warheads to other nations either for offensive or defen-

sive purposes, and West Europe couldn't mount an A.B.M. program on its own, even if Britain and France pitched in together. The treaty thus ratifies Khrushchev's description of European NATO members as Russia's "hostages."

We can hardly blame our allies for grumbling when they realize the full implications of an American policy that condemns them to permanent dependence. Resentment may be unrealistic; a bantamweight pugilist is smaller and weaker than a heavyweight, and shouldn't logically complain. Nevertheless, no nation likes to be frozen into subservience.

Moscow, as well as Washington, has shifted fundamental policy, but Russia has less trouble with its bloc—except for China. Indeed, when the "cultural revolution" and anti-Soviet campaign developed last summer, Moscow changed its nuclear diplomacy. It had been interested only in a treaty that would prevent Germany from getting nuclear weapons; now it shows equal interest in keeping Asia's atomic status quo.

Washington and Moscow show increasing parallelism on nuclear questions. They indicate a curb on weapons production can be envisioned after an antiproliferation treaty. Even without France and China, such a

treaty could bring pressure on violators through economic sanctions. Furthermore, the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. contemplate asking U.N. to authorize assistance to any non-nuclear signatory facing atomic threats.

All this is immensely complicated and there is little chance of imminent agreement. Nevertheless, while negotiations take place, Russia mutes its hostility to U.S. actions in Vietnam, while we try to corral reluctant allies, above all West Germany, into accepting a nuclear freeze. The Soviet attitude, of course, inspires China's rage; the American attitude alarms certain of our allies.

# Worth the Candle

An obvious calculation in both Washington and Moscow is that the game is worth the treaty candle, but again one sees the splitting power of the atom. It has helped divide the Sino-Soviet bloc and it has helped fragment the West, once more opening fresh wounds.

Nonetheless, a stunning diplomatic goal is already discernible through the confusion. This goal is some kind of vague and ultimate alliance, above existing blocs, enabling the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., despite mutual suspicions, to join and police the world.